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The State and prostitution

New York

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A PAPER READ BEFORE THE SECTION ON PUBLIC
HEALTH OF THE NEW YORK ACADEMY
OF MEDICINE,

BY

AARON M. POWELL,

*President of the New York Committee for the Prevention
of State Regulation of Vice.*

THE PHILANTHROPIST,

Post Office Box 3554, New York.

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STATE AND MUNICIPAL REGULATION OF
PROSTITUTION.

*A Paper read before the Section on Public Health of the
New York Academy of Medicine, March 7, 1894.*

BY AARON M. POWELL.

When Dr. Sanger wrote of prostitution, in 1858, the number of women living as prostitutes in the city of New York, from information given by the then Chief of Police, Matsell, and from other sources, was estimated to be six thousand. In a paper prepared for the World's Congress on Social Purity, held in Chicago in June, 1893, Hon. Elbridge T. Gerry states that Superintendent Byrnes, of the Police Department, and himself compared notes with exactly the same result, and, viewing the matter from two different standpoints, they were agreed that the present number of prostitutes in New York City is at least 40,000.

But prostitution is not an affair of one sex only. The purchasing copartners of these 40,000 prostitute

women and men. How numerous these male prostitutes are can be known only approximately.

Dr. Sanger, writing of the liability to infection, and of the economic aspect of prostitution, says: "The supposition that a prostitute submits to but one act of prostitution every day is ridiculously small. No woman could pay her board, dress and live in the expensive manner common among the class upon the money she would receive from one visitor daily; even two visitors is a very low estimate, and four is very far from an unreasonably large one."

If, therefore, we may accept as substantially accurate the estimate of Superintendent Byrnes and Mr. Gerry that New York has at the present time 40,000 prostitute women, and also Dr. Sanger's that four would be a reasonable estimate of the average number of daily visitors to each, we have an aggregate of at least 160,000 prostitute or immoral men in the metropolis.

Large as these figures appear, there is no good reason to believe that New York, in proportion to its entire population, is immoral beyond other of our larger American cities and towns. The evil is widespread in all our large centers of population.

All along the pathway of human history, in the remotest periods as in modern times, prostitution has been a conspicuous social factor. It has been, and contin-

ues to be, destructive not only of physical health, and of the finer qualities of womanhood and manhood, but is also a great economic waste.

Dr. Sanger estimated that the average weekly income of each courtesan could not be less than ten dollars. He says: "Many pay much more than that sum for their board alone, and in first class houses it is not uncommon for a prostitute to realize as much as thirty or fifty dollars, or upward, in a week. But if the income is taken at the lowest point, the aggregate receipts of six thousand courtesans amount to \$60,000 per week, or \$3,120,000 per year."

If, however, there are now 40,000 courtesans in this city with an average weekly income of but \$10 each the cost in money to their male patrons is fully \$400,000 a week or \$20,800,000 a year! If as is strongly probable, the present weekly average income is at least twenty dollars, the yearly expenditure of dissolute men in New York upon prostitutes would aggregate over \$40,000,000!

But Dr. Sanger notes also another large item of expenditure in connection with prostitution, viz.: for wines and liquors. He estimates that the patrons of brothels generally pay at least two-thirds as much for wines and liquors as to the women inmates with whom they consort; that, at the time he wrote, the weekly

outlay for liquors by the patrons of the six thousand prostitute women was fully \$40,000, or \$2,080,000 a year. That the wine and liquor expenditure in connection with the brothels of New York is relatively quite as large now as in 1858 is strongly probable. We may, therefore, properly add at least \$25,000,000 for liquors to the \$40,000,000 paid to the prostitute women of the brothels of the city, or a total outlay of fully \$65,000,000 a year in connection with prostitution!

Sensual men not only pay a heavy tribute to vice, but they stimulate a cruel traffic in dependent women and girls to supply the demand of their unrestrained passions.

THE STATE AND PROSTITUTION.

Of an evil of such magnitude, attended with consequence so grave as affecting the health and general welfare of the individual, and of the community at large, of course the State should take cognizance. The Old World method has been for many years to license or regulate it, with police and medical surveillance of prostitute women.

This government plan is based upon the assumption that vice is a necessity for men, and that a certain class of women must be set apart to minister to their lust.

This sentiment was voiced by Lecky, the historian of European morals, when, referring to the woman of this victim class, he said: "Herself the supreme type of vice, she is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue. But for her the unchallenged purity of countless homes would be polluted, and not a few who, in the pride of their unttempted chastity, think of her with an indignant shudder, would have known the agony of remorse and despair. On that one degraded and ignoble form are concentrated the passions that might have filled the world with shame. She remains, while creeds and civilizations rise and fall, the eternal priestess of humanity, blasted for the sins of the people." If men were as bad as this picture would indicate, and the prostitute woman is the heroine she is thus painted, the judgment of society concerning her should be reversed, and instead of being ostracised as now, she should be honored and canonized. The root of the regulation system is in the dual standard of morals, one for men and another for women, of which Lecky is an exponent.

Experience has abundantly demonstrated that this one-sided plan of government regulation, which licenses a few women to pursue prostitution as a trade, subjecting them to compulsory registration, with illusory periodical examinations, while allowing their

miscellaneous male patrons full liberty to disseminate disease at their will, and leaving also an always large army of clandestine prostitutes without any surveillance whatever, is worse than a sanitary failure, and serves rather to stimulate than to check prostitution itself. Law is in itself an educator, and may educate downward as well as upward. When the State, by its license and official certificate, gives to the prostitute a legal status, and at night, as in some European cities, puts up its colored signal lights in front of its brothels, it, in effect, consigns a victim class of its women to an odious form of slavery, digs pitfalls for its young men, and perverts the true function of government, which, as defined by Gladstone, the "Grand Old Man," is "to make it easy to do right and difficult to do wrong."

THE ST. LOUIS EXPERIMENT.

America has had but a single noteworthy experiment of licensing prostitution, and that was in St. Louis. Though after four years of trial it was abandoned as an ignominious failure, in both a sanitary and moral point of view, leaving the condition of the city at the last worse than at the first, it is still quoted with approval, from time to time by American advocates of Regulation. It is cited by the Director of Police of Cleveland

as a justifying precedent for his disgraceful compulsory registration scheme, inaugurated a few months ago and now in operation in Cleveland, and which one of the Police Commissioners of this city was recently quoted as saying he should approve for New York.

It was in 1870 that the license system was inaugurated in St. Louis. The authority for it was obtained by a legislative trick, the interpolation, without debate, of the two words, "or regulate," into an amendment of the city charter, intended, as was generally supposed, to suppress prostitution. The legal effect of this amendment, as was subsequently decided by the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri, was to repeal all State laws prohibiting prostitution, so far as St. Louis was concerned, and to give to it a business status as a legitimate industry. A German municipal office-holder was deputed to visit Europe, to familiarize himself with regulation laws there. An ordinance was subsequently adopted, requiring the registry of prostitute women. The city was divided into six districts, with one medical examiner to each. The salaries of the examiners were from twelve hundred to twenty-five hundred dollars per annum. Each examiner was required to visit the houses and apartments of prostitutes, to make inquiries, and, *if he thought best*, physical examinations. He was to give such sanitary directions as he might

deem best, to render prostitution safe, and to order to be removed to the hospital, any of the prostitutes whose condition in his opinion, required it. The keepers of licensed houses were required to pay a tax of ten dollars a month, and one dollar a week for each prostitute therein; each prostitute fifty cents a week. Each registered prostitute paid about twenty-six dollars a year, and each keeper of a brothel an average of about three hundred dollars a year. As compared with the French system, the St. Louis experiment differed in appointing but a single examiner to visit, unattended, prostitute women and girls in their own houses and apartments, and there to make physical examinations, or not, at his own discretion. It is not at all surprising that the experiment excited much moral indignation and disgust on the part of good citizens, men and women, and that, so far as sanitary results were concerned, it should end in a disgraceful failure. The Regulationists of St. Louis, especially those connected with its Board of Health, attempted to show by the figures of the earlier registrations, made at intervals of a few months, a diminution in the number of prostitutes. Dr. William G. Eliot, the honored President of Washington University of St. Louis, who made a most thorough, impartial investigation of the whole matter says of this claim of a diminished number of prosti-

tutes, that: "In fact they had scotched the snake, not killed it, and in all probability the number of prostitutes had not been diminished at all. To scatter a nest of hornets," he says, "is a very different thing from its destruction."

The results during the progress of the experiment proved an increase of 34 per cent. in the number of brothels, and an increase in the number of registered women of more than 35 per cent. There was also an undoubted increase meanwhile of clandestine prostitution. Concerning the sanitary aspect, Dr. Eliot says: "What is still more startling, when the stamping out process is examined, it appears that while the number of diseased women under treatment in 1871 was 18 out of 480, or 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., it has risen now (1873) to an average of 40 out of 653, or over 6 per cent., showing the remarkable fact, to which, however, we can find a parallel in Paris itself, that even among the registered and regularly inspected prostitutes the hateful disease may increase, a result which, though unexpected, ought not to surprise us so long as the male prostitutes are themselves exempt from medical inspection." How incomplete was the registration and of how little practical value, in a sanitary point of view, the system of medical inspection was, may be seen from the significant figures presented by Dr. Eliot, taken from the

reports of the Chief of Police of St. Louis, for the years 1871 and 1872. He says: "The year 1871, ending March 31, shows that out of 3,722 females arrested, 1,526 were prostitutes and 218 keepers of bawdy houses (the Board of Health report of the same date shows 480 registered prostitutes and 99 keepers!) being a total of 1,744, or 46 per cent. of all females arrested. The year 1872 shows that out of 3,187 females arrested, 2,613 were prostitutes and 71 keepers of houses, or a total of 2,684, being over 84 per cent. of all females arrested, and an increase of 940 prostitutes arrested, or 18 per cent. more than the previous year."

Dr. Edmund Andrews, of Chicago, whom you will undoubtedly recognize as good medical authority, also made a very careful investigation of the St. Louis license experiment. Commenting upon its sanitary results, he says: "The authorities in St. Louis, at the time of their effort, made a show of great diminution of venereal diseases in the hospitals and charity institutions *under their control* after the license law went into operation."

"Knowing that it is easy to make a delusive show by simply exerting a pressure through the head officers to keep out some cases, and to falsify the records of others by putting down complicated cases under other heads in the record, and omitting to enter the syphilitic

part as well as by calling all doubtful cases by other names, I determined to enquire of an institution *not under their control*. I therefore got the statistics from the United States Marine Hospital there for nearly a year before and after the time when the license law went into effect. The result was that the Marine Hospital of St. Louis showed an actual increase of the percentage of venereal diseases among its patients when the license system went into operation."

I have dwelt somewhat in detail upon the St. Louis license experiment, because it is practically the only important American precedent of its kind, and because of an inclination shown latterly even at this distance of time, to use it in justification of efforts for municipal regulation, as at the present time in Cleveland, and as ominously foreshadowed in the recent comment of the Police Commissioner of this city.

When it was discovered by the better class of people of St. Louis what had been accomplished by legislative legerdemain, that license for the social evil had actually been inaugurated, much indignation was aroused and a vigorous agitation for repeal began under the influential leadership of Dr. Eliot. A petition for repeal was signed by four thousand women of St. Louis and presented to the Missouri Legislature. The archbishop, bishop, and Catholic clergy, nearly all the

Protestant clergy, and a majority of the St. Louis Bar were enlisted in the cause of repeal.

A repeal petition was signed by over a hundred and fifty physicians and lawyers. The legislature of 1873-4, after a prolonged and embittered discussion, finally voted the repeal by a vote of three fourths of all the members of the Senate, and in the House by 90 to 1. Thus ended the license experiment in St. Louis, after having been in operation about four years. Several attempts have been made to revive it, but they have been confronted with, and defeated by, an overwhelmingly adverse public opinion based upon the four years of unhappy experience.

REGULATION ABROAD.

It was in 1664 that by act of Parliament, supplemented by additional legislation in 1666 and again in 1669, the regulation system was introduced in Great Britain, under the name of the "Contagious Diseases Acts." They were applied to sundry military districts, ostensibly to promote the health of the army, but with the purpose on the part of their projectors, later avowed, ultimately to extend them also to the civil population. When their real character and object became known, a vigorous repeal agitation was begun, under the leadership of a gifted, noble woman, Mrs. Josephine E. Butler, which was con-

tinued for twenty years. At the end of the two decades the repeal movement was triumphant, and the Acts were swept from the statute books. During the prolonged contest the battle of statistics was many times fought, and with great earnestness on both sides. Figures were employed to prove both the hygienic success and failure of the Acts.

Within the proper limits of this paper I can not enter largely into the details of this statistical controversy. It was quite clearly shown that at some of the military stations under the Acts there was a decline in the percentage of venereal maladies after their adoption. But it was quite as clearly shown also, that this decline, from other causes, had begun prior to the passage of the Acts, and that it was even greater after their passage in sundry districts not under their control. Dr. John Chapman, in the *Westminster Review*, in an able summary of the testimony given before a Royal Commission on this subject says: "The average annual ratio of admissions to hospital on account of primary venereal sores was lessening at ten out of fourteen stations under the Acts before they became operative; and in the course of definite periods before they did so, equal in length to the periods which have elapsed since the Acts were put in force, the average annual ratio of admissions at those ten stations *lessened*

2.8 per cent. *more rapidly* than it did during the corresponding period since the Acts were applied."

In the districts under the Acts it was claimed by the advocates of Regulation, and figures were cited to verify the claim, that there was a generally decreasing number of registered prostitutes and of houses of prostitution. On the other hand it was shown that while registered prostitutes decreased, clandestine prostitutes increased; that prostitutes in the districts under the operation of the Acts, who refused to register, migrated in large numbers to the adjacent districts wherein the Acts were not in force, and continued to ply their vocation. More absolute power was asked for, over the persons of all single or suspected women, to the end that prostitution might thus be controlled.

But the Acts were opposed, and their repeal was demanded by many distinguished men and women. John Stuart Mill spoke strongly against them, and the irresponsible power delegated by them, declaring: "It is wrong to give men powers liable to abuse, and then assume that they will not be abused."

Dr. Nevins, after a most careful and exhaustive examination of the whole subject, summarizes the sanitary results of the Acts as follows: "After sixteen years adoption, The Rate of Improvement in Primary

Venereal Sores* in the subjected portion of the Home Army was reduced from 6.7 per cent. yearly for the 6 recorded years before the Acts, to 0.65 per cent. yearly during the 16 years of the Acts.

Inefficiency in the Navy (20,000 strong), increased from 172 men daily to 230 men daily.

Venereal disease rose among the registered prostitutes by above 39 per cent. (from 121.6 to 169.5)."

Dr. John Simon, of whom the Right Hon. James Stansfeld, the parliamentary leader for repeal, says: "No man has done more, no man has done as much for sanitary science in this country," was appealed to by regulationists to aid the movement for the extension of the Acts to the civil population. He declined, saying: "I very decidedly refrain from recommending any change in that neutral position which English law has hitherto held in regard to the venereal disease of the civil population. So far as my present knowledge enables me to judge, I believe that any departure from that position could do little but embarrass and disappoint."

The Acts were not only not extended to the civil population, but were unconditionally repealed April 13,

*This one form of disease is specified because it is acknowledged in the Army Reports that Gonorrhea was not sensibly improved by the Acts in the subjected as compared with the unsubjected stations, and the comparison between the two classes of stations was never made for Secondary Syphilis.

1886. In India and some of the colonies, under British rule, despite the adverse action of Parliament, regulation still continues, but in an irregular way by the connivance of delinquent officials.

In 1871, an Act was passed in India for the Army there similar to, but much more severe than the English Acts; for the fortnightly periodical examination of the women in England was replaced by a weekly or even daily examination in India, with the result, says Dr. Nevins, that the venereal diseases *rose* steadily year by year in the British troops in India from 196.8 per 1,000 in 1871—the year the act was passed—to 371 per 1,000 in 1893—the latest year officially published—an increase of 88 per cent. in seventeen years of the Acts there.

Following this large increase of 88 per cent. a new and startling order was issued by the Commander in Chief in India, in June, 1886, to the commanding officer in every cantonment in India. It declared "The *medical officers* were to see that the examinations, etc., were strictly carried out, and the *commanding officer* was to take care that *sufficiently numerous and sufficiently attractive* prostitutes were provided for every cantonment, and that the quarters in which the women were lodged were *sufficiently comfortable and attractive to satisfy the demands of both the women and the men*. If their quarters did

not already comply with this it was to be reported, and the deficiencies supplied as quickly as possible." Of the sanitary results, Dr. Nevins says: "The latest officially-published hospital statistics for India are for the North Western province of India and Oudh—18:6—containing fourteen large cantonments. In four of these 1 prostitute was provided for every 17 men. In three of them, 1 for every 9.9 men. In four of them 1 for every 7.25 men; and in three of them, 1 for every 3.9 men,—with the following result:

4 Stations 1 prostitute to every 17 men;

Cases of all forms of ven. dis. per 1000 men, 170

3 Stations 1 prostitute to every 9.9 men;

Cases of all forms of ven. dis. per 1000 men, 263

4 Stations 1 prostitute to every 7.25 men;

Cases of all forms of ven. dis. per 1000 men, 402

3 Stations 1 prostitute to every 3.9 men;

Cases of all forms of ven. dis. per 1000 men, 546

As these results are not satisfactory, still more stringent provisions are talked of as necessary."

In Continental countries there is a strong and an increasing tide of opinion against the continuance of State regulation. In Paris, Berlin and other European capitals, which have long had police and medical surveillance of prostitutes, prostitution, and the diseases incident thereto, are most prevalent. Many an American

physician can testify, if he will, of cases of infection among his own patients who, going abroad, have thought they could do with impunity in Paris in the way of sensual indulgence, what at home they would hesitate to assume the risk of, because of the supposed greater safety in Paris. In Paris the Police des Mœurs, or so called "Bureau of Morals," so long presided over by Lecour, the "Bismarck of the Parisian regulation administration," has been supplanted by the regular police of the city, who, under the direction of the present Prefect of Police, M. Lepure, now have the power of arresting women under the regulation code. While at the head of the Police des Mœurs, Lecour, with all his vigilance, was forced to acknowledge the practical failure of his system. He said: "The administration has reloubled its activity, it has multiplied its Acts of Repression with regard to prostitutes, and it has definitely succeeded in maintaining a satisfactory condition of the sanitary state of public registered girls, and yet sanitary statistics prove that prostitution is increasing, and that it is becoming more dangerous to the public health."

Again, M. Lecour, the Prefect of the Police des Mœurs in Paris, in the last edition of his work on Prostitution in Paris, published about 1873, says at page 47: "Not only the police but all the world knows the cause of the increase of prostitution—religious feeling is weak-

ened, and tolerance of venal and scandalous intrigues has entered into our ethics;" and at page 57 he says: "*We may recognize amelioration as far as outward disorder is concerned, but we are none the less sensible that the ever rising tide of debauchery is due to causes which repression (i. e. the police) cannot reach.*"

Dr. Jeannel, of Bordeaux, in his work, pp. 1 and 2, bitterly reproaches M. Lecour for the increase of profligacy in Paris. He says, p. 182—"The streets of Paris and all places of public resort are crowded with the abandoned;" p. 196—"Cabs, coffee-houses, public houses, railway-stations, theatres, hotels, lodging houses and shops are used as their lairs or hunting grounds," p. 386—"Scandalous scenes are enacted in the streets, and the hospitals for venereal diseases are crowded." And this, be it observed, is not the picture drawn by a "fanatic" or an ignorant opponent of the system, but by one of its most enthusiastic advocates.

The Municipal Council of Paris, 28th December, 1880, in a preamble to a resolution abolishing the Police des Mœurs, declared that: "The Municipal Council, considering that the institution of the Police des Mœurs is destructive of the principle of individual liberty, without succeeding in accomplishing the end it proposes to aim at either in the diminution of venereal dis-

eases, or in the prevention of offences against public order, etc."

In Berlin, the young German Emperor recognizes the alarming prevalence of vice, and the evils which attend it, and is disposed to encourage the efforts of the Salvation Army, and other methods of reformation. In France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway a vigorous agitation has been inaugurated for the abolition of State regulation, and in sundry municipalities and localities in several of these countries, abolition has already been accomplished.

THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION FOR THE ABOLITION OF STATE REGULATION OF VICE.

The International Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice, of which Dr. J. Birkbeck Nevins, of Liverpool, is now president, organized at a great Congress held in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1877, with over 500 delegates, representing 15 countries, which it was my privilege to attend as an American delegate, has now adherents in nearly every country in Europe, and also includes among its members many eminent physicians, jurists and philanthropists. The Geneva Congress was divided into five sections, one

of which, the Hygienic, was presided over by Dr. De la Harpe, a distinguished physician of Lausanne. After prolonged and thorough consideration of the subject, by the Section, which included physicians and others familiar with the practical workings of regulation in their respective countries, its members were unanimous in adopting a series of declarations or resolutions, which have since been in substance re-affirmed by several succeeding Congresses, one of which says: "The Section of Hygiene condemns, in view of their complete failure, all systems of *Police des Mœurs*, whose object is to regulate prostitution. The Section bases its condemnation on the following, amongst other grounds, namely: that the obligatory surgical examination of women is revolting to human nature; that it can only be carried out in the case of a certain proportion of the prostitutes; that it is impossible to rely upon this examination to discover the most serious constitutional form of venereal maladies, or to hinder its progress, and that consequently it gives a false guarantee of the health of the women who are subjected to it."

Among the European physicians of high standing who are adherents of the International Federation, and whose labors in connection therewith have been influential against the continuance of the regulation sys-

tem, besides its venerable president, Dr. Nevins, of Liverpool, are Dr. Moeller, of Brussels, Dr. Forel, of Zurich, Dr. Giersing, of Copenhagen, and Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, of London.

MUNICIPAL REGULATION IN CLEVELAND AND OTHER CITIES.

In this country, since the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts by the British Parliament, efforts to secure regulation by State sanction have generally been abandoned. We have latterly, however, in some cities Municipal regulation, and in most, police toleration of vice. In Cleveland the Director of Police has inaugurated a registration system, which is now in operation. He has already enrolled the names of upwards of 1,000 women and girls, who, as a condition of immunity from arrest, are required to report weekly at police headquarters, and to bring with them certificates of health. They are left at liberty to choose their own doctors for the examinations. I am advised by a Cleveland correspondent that in some cases young medical students are making these examinations, for the small fee of one dollar each, as a means of helping themselves along in their medical education! It is not surprising to read, in the *Cleveland World* of February 10, 1894, that "The social evil is flourishing

in Cleveland under his (Director Pollner's) rule as it has never flourished before. The women think they are exempt from arrest, and consequently are very bold." The *World* also says, referring to the so-called health certificates: "These examinations are usually made by young physicians with little experience, or by doctors who cater to that class of practice. They are not worth the paper they are written on, and the result is that there has been a large increase of disease during the past few months. Experienced physicians state that it is impossible to ascertain disease by any such examination, and that many people who formerly were afraid of visiting houses of this kind for fear of contracting some terrible disease, now go there frequently, thinking they are safe."

Another city, wherein latterly a kindred scheme of Municipal regulation has been inaugurated is Davenport, Iowa. A Davenport correspondent writes me: "The present Mayor of our city requires inmates of houses of prostitution to be regularly examined by physicians, and to report any change of residence. If keepers of such houses and the inmates will appear at police stations when notified (at least once a month) and pay fines and costs, there are no arrests made either of them or visitors, unless in case of disturbance of the peace. As a result, it is reliably reported that boys, who

were heretofore deterred from visiting such places for fear of it becoming known, are now to be seen in and about these places in large numbers."

In Omaha the municipal authorities collect a monthly "fine" of the proprietors and women inmates of houses of debauchery, with promised immunity from arrest, which "fines" aggregating about \$24,000 a year, to give a semblance of respectability to the shameful arrangement, they appropriate to the support of their public schools!

Social vice has become an important factor in the prevalent municipal misrule. Of this fact New York furnishes a striking object lesson. With a spasmodic show of law enforcement, made from time to time, but with an obvious ulterior purpose the police and the municipal and political magnates, who direct their action, instead of aiming at repression in good faith, really tolerate, and in effect, protect, for a consideration, the brothel. New York has, practically, without the warrant of the State law, a system, if it can be called such, of police regulated vice.

Allied with the saloon and with the gambling evil, the brothel has become a most prolific source, not alone of physical disease and moral degradation, but also of political corruption. Municipal tampering with vice, as a substitute for repression, by irresponsible police

methods, as in Cleveland, Davenport, Omaha, New York, and other American cities, is a present dangerous tendency.

WHAT THE STATE MAY DO.

The State cannot do, and ought not to be expected to do, impossible things. It can do nothing effectively, except as law is vitalized by public opinion. It ought on no account to give to prostitution a legal status, a recognized right to be. Its aims should be the utmost restraint and ultimate abolition. It ought to be fair and just alike to women and to men. It has hitherto dealt too exclusively with women. It rightfully interdicts the brothel, as the gambling den. It also rightfully prescribes punishment for the keepers of houses of public debauchery, and for those who let houses or other dwellings for such purposes. It ought vigorously to punish the incitement of minors, of either sex, to debauchery, and especially procurism—the traffic in girlhood. It ought also to severely punish the kidnapping, hiring or corruption of minors for purposes of debauchery. Its penalties should include imprisonment as well as fine. Fines alone, in most cases, are readily paid, and amount to little more than a tax upon vice, with a minimum of restraint. Especially for the capitalists of vice, the proprietors of brothels, and the

owneis of property rented for their use, the prison only is of value as a deterrent. With them, fines are a mere incident; the prison bars they still have a wholesome dread of.

The State and municipality ought also to provide ample hospital facilities for the treatment of venereal diseases as readily as for all other diseases.

THE PHYSICIAN'S OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY.

The physician, beyond any and all others, has it in his power to so mould public opinion, especially concerning the sanitary aspects of prostitution, as to make it practicable for wholesome repressive laws, in the interest of morality and health, to be enacted and enforced. It was the irresistible force of medical testimony against the C. D. Acts, combined with the moral protest, which rendered their final repeal inevitable. It is the weighty condemnation of the regulation system in Continental Europe by eminent physicians and sanitarians in conjunction with moral power, which already fore-shadows its abolition in the near future. So the voice of the medical profession here directed against State and municipal complicity with vice, may and should so enlighten public opinion, as to reduce public prostitution to a minimum, by making possible the

enforcement of wholesome legal restraint. There is still abroad the popular heresy that for men vice is a necessity, and that young men must "sow wild oats." What is morally wrong cannot be physiologically right.

May physicians everywhere be quickened to declare, with the late Sir Andrew Clark, that immorality is not a necessity, and that chastity for all is a human possibility.

THE PHILANTHROPIST SERIES.

The following leaflets of the PHILANTHROPIST SERIES have been published:

- 1.—"LEGAL PROTECTION FOR YOUNG GIRLS," by Aaron M. Powell.
- 2.—"THE STATE AND GIRLHOOD," by Emily Blackwell, M. D.
- 3.—"SAVE THE BOYS," by Rev. J. P. Gledstone.
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